



THE SLAVE POWER:

ITS HERESIES AND INJURIES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A SPEECH,

BY

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WHEN from a warm serene sky, a clap of thunder suddenly sounds upon the startled ear, excited attention looks up for a moment, and, if the clap is not repeated, subsides and soon forgets. Not so, the cautious mariner. Distrustful of the smiling skies and of the smooth-faced seas, he furls his sails, and stands with helm in hand, watching the outburst of the sudden tempest. It comes, but the steady bark rides on safely through the storm, till hoped for day arrives with its cheering lights and more favoring skies. Different is the fate of the unwary seaman. The torn, ragged sails, the broken masts—the headlong plunges of his ill-fated craft tell the fast-coming doom of hapless shipwreck. Such is the fate of an uncared-for vessel and its doomed crew. The tidings move us for a time, but its memory only remains in the bosoms of the afflicted few who have lost all they possessed with all they love.

But what of the wreck of a great State—of a Government—of a Republic freighted with the happiness of a world—with its promises, with its hopes? Here, nor sympathy nor sorrow are in place. The magnitude of the loss appeals to higher emotions. Indignant scorn and wrathful vengeance call out—demand—insist upon the penalties due to the massive crime of law dethroned—liberty betrayed—tranquillity banished—humanity dishonored. The penalties indeed follow, but, alas, not only do they come to the guilty few, but to the guiltless many; and to them they come in every form of human misery—in

that of all forms the direst—despair of the fortunes of mankind. So great a loss—so wide a calamity—so sad a grief—a fate so hopeless, is it not a duty to endeavor to avert—a duty of society—a duty of man in all his possible relations? How can it be averted? By the lessons of the past teaching the duties of the present—imparting to the sense of the obligation, the power, the strength, the confidence—the will of performance. And this performance is the duty of us all—the highest duty, the first duty—the ever-continuing duty—the latest duty. This common imperative duty we have to perform.

And now, my friends—I mean to speak to you of things not familiar to you all—of things it interests you all to know—to state truths, which, like the lightning from the heavens, are meant to clear the opening day. I wish you, dismissing all preferences and prejudices to examine well these truths—and then to judge and act as you value your consciences and your well-being. I propose to trace the SLAVE POWER, not in its mere social relations, but in its great political relations, its heresies and injuries to the American people.

I proceed to show—that, in Virginia—the first great Slave State of the Union, the cultivation of a special *foreign* influence *first* began,—that, to it, Virginia was ready to surrender great National advantages and rights—that, owing to *her* selfish ambitions, the establishment of a National Government was long delayed and much imperilled—that, to subserve *her* interests, an injurious limitation of an important power of Government was inserted in the Constitution of the United States—that, with *her* originated the opposition to the Administration of Washington which only the affections and gratitude of the American people for him could check—that, from *her* were propagated doctrines of construction emasculative of the Constitution—that, from *her* emanated the heresy of SECESSION—that, to subserve *her* ambitions—in *her* bosom a design to overturn the National Government was generated—that, to accomplish this design, an armed CONSPIRACY of men, born out of the United States, was organized—and that by the votes and influence of that armed conspiracy, the men were elevated to power, to whom these successive offences against this nation's interests—rights and duties, may ALL be clearly traced—ALL having in view—this result—the permanent elevation over the heads of the American people of an oligarchic—aristocratic SLAVE POWER, professing Democracy only to make the Democracy the servile tools of its selfish, Unnational ambitions.

In 1790—there existed within the United States 697,897 Slaves. Of this number Virginia had the great preëminence of holding little less than one half; the number of her slaves being 293,427, about one *eleventh* part of the *total* population of this country.

Of Virginia, the especial personification of its special interests—its special ambition—its special policy—was Thomas Jefferson—for, though born there, I do not speak of Washington in this

narrow relation. He belonged — as he now belongs — as he ever will belong—to the whole country—to the whole human race—to man proud, justly proud, that he was his fellow-man. And now, my friends, I ask you, what were the opinions, feelings—ultimate position, stand of Thomas Jefferson on the subject of slavery? I do not mean to be mistaken—I do not ask you to regard what I say of this, without adducing the evidence, Here it is in the fourth volume of “Jefferson’s Works,” edited by his son-in-law, page 340, in a letter, dated January 31, 1821. Let me premise, that this was the time of the great commotion on the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise which limited the extension of slavery, and that this letter was written of “The Virginia University.” “Even,” he wrote, “with the whole power we shall be reduced to six Professors—while Harvard will still prime it *over us* with her twenty Professors. How many of our youths she now has, learning the lessons of Anti-Missourianism, I know not, but a gentleman, lately from Princeton, told me, he saw there the list of the students at that place, and that more than half were Virginians. These will return home, no doubt, deeply impressed with the *sacred* principles of *our* HOLY ALLIANCE OF RESTRICTIONISTS.” In a second letter, of the 15th of February following, he wrote to General Breckenridge — “All, I fear, do not see the speck in the horizon which is to burst on us as a tornado, sooner or later. The line of division lately marked out between different portions of our confederacy, is such, as will never, I fear, be obliterated; and we are now trusting to those who are against us in position and *principle*, to fashion to their own form the minds and affections of our youth.” Thus does he fear the free principles of New-England, inclining the youth of Virginia to Freedom, and thus does he scoff at those who would restrict the limits of slavery — “the spreading” of which he had urged over “the whole continent,”—as “the Holy alliance of Restrictionists.” The extending influences of New-England education in favor of Freedom were the subject of those proscriptive apprehensions, and such ever will they be. Nor will you be surprised at this language addressed to me,—“New-England must be reduced in her power as a propitiation to the South.” “New-England must be thrown out,”—nor yet, I trust, at my reply to the son of a Revolutionary Officer, who, with my father — sprang over a parapet at Yorktown, “I would not wish to live in a Republic that does not embrace Bunker’s Hill and Yorktown too.”

While the liberation of the slave was a mere distant, speculative philanthropy—an utopian vision—it all was well enough to preach a possible emancipation; but when the question seemed near by of the extension of the slave power, then we read these iron words, significant of the hand-cuff and the dungeon-gratings.

Second—It has been stated, that in Virginia the culture of a special foreign influence began — and third, that Virginia shewed herself ready to surrender great national rights, interests and advantages.

Let us to the facts, as seen in the Journals of the old Congress and in the Cotemporary historical writings.

During the long continued discussions of the terms of peace to be insisted upon from Great Britain, after a stand had been taken by New-York in behalf of high independent national ground ; in the year 1781, the American negotiators were instructed "to *undertake nothing* in the negotiations for peace or truce, *without the knowledge and concurrence*" of the French Court, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion." This degrading instruction was proposed at the instance of the French Ambassador, then in Philadelphia, where Congress were sitting; and was especially and obstinately supported by Madison, the leading member of that Congress from Virginia. Of this ultimatum, a dispatch from the French legation states: "It leaves the King (of France) MASTER of the terms of treaty or truce, excepting Independence and treaties of alliance." The thralldom thus intended to be imposed on the American negociators for peace was broken by the steady intelligence of John Jay, exhibiting throughout the courage and firmness characteristic of the illustrious Huguenot race, he so honored in this great national service. What followed? What followed? In return, a vote of CENSURE was proposed in Congress, which censorious vote was sustained by Madison.

Of the instructions previously mentioned, Hamilton declared, "Not only, as to final measures, but also as to preliminary and intermediate negociations" they "placed the negociators in a state of dependence on the French Ministry humiliating to themselves and unsafe for the interests of the country." Of these great interests, that of the FISHERIES was jeopardized—and the right of navigating the Mississippi to the Ocean was imperilled. To Virginia, a planting State, of what value in her bounded view were the great Ocean Fisheries? Her poor untaught white laborer knew only of the canoe, the scow, or the petty shallop; and the slave could not be trusted beyond her limits. The hardy colored rover might come home and whisper tales of dangerous enterprise—dangerous to bondage, for ever propitious to Freedom have been the Ocean and its borders. Its winds and its lofty waves brook no other than the arms of courage and the eyes of forethought to pass over this unfenced highway of the nations. On its borders have arisen, near neighboring despotisms, the "Free States," the enemies of tyrants, whence came those maxims of free commerce, of international law which control the lawless barbarisms of distant peoples, and make safe their intercourse. Yet, when a wandering codfish found its luckless unwary way into the waters of the Potomac, Jefferson, alarmed at this stranger's visit into the sacred realm of the Old Dominion, said: "I fear we may become a maritime people."

As to the navigation of the Mississippi, that great liquid bond of the Union—Madison prepared an instruction to Jay to "*recede*" from the instructions previously *drawn by himself* insisting upon

its free navigation to the Ocean. When was this recession proposed, and at whose timid, short-sighted instance? On the day that Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, and its affrighted legislature were driven from undefended Richmond by Benedict Arnold; and at the instance of this Governor and legislature.

Nor can it ever be forgotten, that the vote of Censure sustained by Madison, reprov'd a treaty by which a large portion of the Western territory, now the Western States, was secured to the Union—Spain coveting them, France her persistent approver.

It has been stated that owing to the selfish ambition of Virginia the establishment of a National government was long delayed.

The provision of money by grants of revenue by the several States, was not only most important to the establishing of our Independence as a Nation, but to the establishment of a National Government. This is the language of one of the Senators of Virginia, in a letter of June 26th, 1780. "The rejection of the Resolution of Congress respecting Finance, was a *fatal stab* to the Independence of America. If Virginia does not rescind her determination, *we are all undone*. Her persisting in the idea will not only deprive herself of resources, but the whole Continent. This, added to the Kentucky policy, and her want of exertion in affording assistance to South-Carolina will place her in a very disagreeable point of view with respect to the other States." "Can you credit it," wrote Patrick Henry, the Governor of Virginia; "Can you credit it? No effort was made for supporting or restoring public credit. I pressed it warmly on some, but in vain. This is the reason you get no soldiers—*Let not Congress rely on Virginia for soldiers*." Virginia did not raise soldiers for the aid of her sister states. She did not raise soldiers for her own protection. Alarmed weakness grasps at any expedient—desperate as it may be; and we find Richard Henry Lee a much-boasted name in Virginia—but of questioned fidelity to Washington, ere long urging, that by Congress, he "the General of the armies be possessed of dictatorial powers." These powers, of course, Washington declined. Virginia then, indeed, was feeling the armed hand of the enemy—and had met with losses. On the 15th of September, 1780, the previous year, Jefferson writes of his loss of a wagon and two horses and of a slave. "He was a negro man named Phil, lame in one arm and leg. The horses were not public property, as they were only impressed and not sold. Perhaps *your certificate* of what is lost may be necessary"—necessary for what, if not for compensation? Jefferson looking for pay for a lame slave, a wagon and two horses in the most alarming moments of the Revolution. Ye heavens, of what materials patriots are sometimes made! There are speaking contrasts in this world. General Schuyler too met with losses. His dwelling-house at Saratoga with all its appendages was burnt to the ground by Burgoyne, his great properties ravaged. He took Burgoyne, when captured, a guest into his city abode. For his losses he never asked, he

never received a dollar. Nor would one of his descendants, I trust, so blemish his blood as to ask for compensation.

To meet the great necessities of this country and of these chiefly, the support of the army, hoping also to initiate a reorganization of the Government, Conventions of certain States—now the free loyal States—were held from year to year. Virginia was earnestly invited to meet her sister States, but long—for many years—she was invited in vain—and only did she come when her coterminous interests sought the common protection of a common government. And meanwhile what is seen? Virginia granting and rescinding her grant of revenue—not only rescinding it, but denying to the Confederation the conjoint power of raising a dollar for the public defence or general welfare. In October 1782 Virginia passed a resolution in these words—“Whereas the permitting *any power, other* than the general assembly of this Commonwealth, to lay duties or *taxes* upon the citizens of *this State within the same*, is injurious to its Sovereignty, may prove destructive of the rights and liberty of the people, and, so far as Congress might exercise the same, is contravening the spirit of the Confederation in the eighth article thereof,” therefore the act previously passed granting it was repealed! To provide for the public wants, the public lands were then deemed an important resource. This resource, ceded by other States, was long withheld by Virginia—not only withheld, but Madison points to her “military contingent,” which she never had filled to sustain the Revolution—as a means in her arrogant behalf, of resisting the common interest—points to a civil war. Of this contingent, he writes, “her line is perhaps of all, in the *most disgraceful* condition.”

That such a policy—so adverse to the great, vast interests of the American people—so false to the common rights and common duties which the Declaration of Independence had conferred and had imposed, would operate most injuriously upon the policy of other States; would excite discontent in the loyal, and prompt and encourage disaffection in the disloyal States, were certain consequences. Yet long, and in vain, were these consequences urged by the patriots of the Revolution—by Washington mourning over the degradation and dark disasters of his country, and by others despairing—almost despairing of the cause of Freedom. It was as though the Sun were blotted from the heavens. But great necessities force their results—chaos required order—anarchy required rule—and out of the great, urgent, most pregnant necessities and calamities, which chaos and anarchy had produced, and the still greater necessities and calamities they menaced, arose the Constitution of the United States—a Government of Order and mild pervading rule. Noble in all its aspects—Glorious in all its aims—grand and even awful in all its high reachings; and but for Virginia, and her cognate jealousies, endowed with every feature—power—quality, necessary for its preservation—and these the people of the United States will soon

furnish to this Constitution of the people—by the people—for the people—our fathers' Constitution—our own Constitution “ordained—established to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity”—not a mere “Federal Union of the States” with Slavery to be secured to their tyrant masters. But this, thank Almighty God, is past—past beyond the reach of human power. To establish this Constitution were required, not only all the resources of Wisdom, but all the resources of the highest public virtue in its courage and in its moderation; and forth they came and together they labored to establish for this Nation a national government, worthy the efforts that had been exerted—and the ends intended to be accomplished. Of such wisdom and of such moderation, Jefferson could not boast. The spirit that could form a nation was not the spirit which, above all things, prized the superior power of Virginia, with all her slaves; and the fact will not surprise that Jefferson held back and was reluctant to the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia. Cavilling at its provisions, he is seen urging Virginia to stand at the threshold, undecided, whether or not to enter and serve her part in the great Offices of our great Temple of Constitutional Freedom. Read his letter of the 7th of February, 1798, addressed at Paris to A. Donald. “Jefferson's Works, iii. 290.”

For among the many arguments urged against its adoption were powers conferred, necessary to provide for the common defence: and among the many menaces uttered loudly, a chief one was urged in Virginia: that, in the use of the means to provide for this defence, the existence of slavery would be put at hazard. “If the Northern States shall be of the opinion,” was the remark of Patrick Henry, “that our slaves are numberless, they may call forth every national resource. May Congress not say that *every black man must fight*? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for *the abolition of slavery*? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted by that power?” The slaveholders of Virginia trembled before this mighty question; and Virginia adopted the Constitution by a majority of *ten* of one hundred and fifty-eight votes.*

* Alexander Hamilton to Jay. 1779:

“The Negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management.

An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their swords. This will secure their fidelity, animate their courage, and, I believe, will have a good influence on those who remain by *opening a door to their emancipation*.

The dictates of humanity and true policy equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men.” As to the freedom granted to the slave by Proclamation, Hamilton remarked, in 1795: “The grant was *irrevocable*. Nothing in the law of nations, nor in those by Great Britain, will authorize the resumption of liberty once granted to a human being. The abandonment of

Negroes who had been induced to quit their masters on the faith of official PROCLAMATIONS promising them *liberty*, to fall again under the yoke of their masters and *into slavery*, is as *odious* and *immoral* a thing as can be conceived. It is *odious*, not only as it imposes an *act of perfidy* on one of the contracting parties, but as it tends to bring back to servitude men once made free.”

It has been stated that, to subserve the interests of Virginia as a great slave-planting State, an important power of Government was expressly excluded by the Constitution of the United States. Tobacco, previous to its adoption, was her principal culture and largest export. During the Revolution, Congress exerted a controlling power over its export. Virginia, on the contrary, claimed the exclusive control of it, although the action of Congress was, by the admission of Madison, "to the advantage of Virginia in procuring a vent to *her staple*, and stopping the exportation of her specie." Virginia did not forget this procedure of Congress; and, with the concurrence of the *rice*-growers of South-Carolina, secured the restrictive provision in the Constitution that, "no tax or duty be laid on articles exported from any State." Is it not possible to suppose instances when the power of imposing a tax upon *exports* may be necessary to an equality of contribution by the several States, or when other great public interests might demand its exercise? Why should not the Government of the United States have the power to impose a tax on the export of cotton, thus levying a duty on the wants of other nations which levy a duty on the wants of the people of the United States? Why should there be a denial of a power to the Government of this nation which resides in and is exerted by the Governments of other nations?

It has been stated, that, with Virginia originated the opposition to the administration of the Government which only the popularity of Washington could check. As to this most reckless, most persevering, almost indiscriminate opposition, begun in its very infancy—in the first year of our Constitution, the facts are all notorious. They are to be seen in the frequent letters of Washington, and may be traced throughout his Presidential life. When Washington wrote to Jefferson himself of the attacks upon his "administration in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could be scarcely applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket,"* we are not left to conjecture what was said and written—by whom said or written—or what he, the Father of his country, felt.

Here I will not dwell. It is sufficient now to remark, that this opposition would have defeated the great neutral policy which Washington established; that it subjected this country, its commerce and its honor, to the depredations and insults of France—inciting, with her connivance, a civil war—at the same time provoking the hostility of England. Amid all the surrounding, pressing difficulties, the Government of the United States kept in the path of Neutral justice—a sublime spectacle of justice and of mercy, to which she can well appeal in the coming hour of reparation by Great Britain. Nor need I call to your recollection the fact, that by a recent foreigner, Albert Gallatin, this threatened, resulting civil war was initiated.

Let those who ask, when and where, read in the resolutions

* Writings of Washington, XI. 139.

passed at a meeting at Red Stone Old Fort on the 27th of July, 1791—and that other in its foreign English, at Pittsburgh of the 21st of August, 1792—of both which meetings Gallatin was Secretary. The first of these resolutions declared the law imposing an internal duty upon whiskey, “immoral in its effects, and dangerous to liberty.” The second, reiterating these assertions, earnestly invoked the proscription by the people of the Collectors of this duty. In countries of severer rule these proceedings would have been dealt with, as conspiracies against the Government. In this, almost forgotten, they have been regarded as of equivalent value to the narrow notion, that the suppression of a rebellion of unparalleled magnitude can and should be accomplished by a Government paying Specie! Oh! for the wisdom that finds its limits within the rim of a gold eagle!

But it will not do to stop here. Listen to another, most pregnant, suggestive fact. Madison had denounced in Congress the imposition of Internal duties. The fomentors of this rebellion were his political partisans. They used his name as the title of one of these seditious associations; and when this Rebellion had ripened into maturity—when Western Pennsylvania was partly in arms against the Government, Madison moved a resolution—rejected by a great majority of Congress—“that regular troops ought not to be used against citizens for enforcing the laws of the United States, but only for protection against foreign invasion, and the Indian tribes.” It may seem strange to learn that, in any man’s estimation, the disciplined and skilled soldiers of a civilized nation ought not to be used to maintain that civilized nation; for to “enforce its laws” when resisted by force, is the only possible mode of maintaining such a nation; but that this use is proper, to reduce to submission roving Indian tribes—the victims, at that very time—the infuriated victims of Virginian frontier aggressions. The poor negroes fleeing to the bushes were pitied and succored by these Indians. The frontier whites followed them with fire and sword and red-mouthed hounds. The Indians driven on were seen looking back—looking back with outstretched, imploring arms of horror at their more savage assailants, while the poor negro, surviving his wounds, was often the reward of his pursuer with unerring aim. “When I was recruiting,” said a deceased officer, “a long-limbed poor white came forth and said: ‘I think of listing. What do you think? If I *wing* a negro, will I have him?’” The reply I do not give. Such are the effects of Slavery—the aristocratic owners, enjoying the fruits of involuntary labor—freed from the cares and the engaging and instructive interests of an active social life, seeking political power as their occupation, and then claiming its possession as a natural right, and the poor, uneducated, debased white, seeking in the labor of the slave the indolence he covets in the toilless lives of his idle superiors.

It has been stated, that from Virginia were propagated doctrines of construction emasculative of the Constitution, and re-

sulting in evils which yet continue—the great evils which now oppress our industry, and menace consequences of a magnitude of danger from which prudence and wisdom and courage almost are compelled to shrink. By whom, if not by Virginia, was begun and stimulated the opposition to a broad, just provision for the debt of the Revolution, called by Hamilton “the price of liberty”? This debt was chiefly due to the inhabitants of the Eastern and Middle States, for the monies expended in supporting the army, which finally at Yorktown rescued Virginia from subjugation. Yet was its payment resisted in every stage of the discussion of the System of Public Credit, and its provision was only effected by a bargain which gave to Virginia the permanent possession within her borders of the National Capital, “as an anodyne,” to use the words of Jefferson, which would “calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited” by the assumption of the State Debts—debts incurred by the several States for their own and the common defence—debts, the payment whereof was expressly pledged by Congress, in a celebrated address from the pen of Madison of the 26th of April, 1783; and the *refusal* to pay which debts was urged—assiduously urged—by Madison on the floor of Congress in 1790, only seven years after. Yet the Constitution had given them its express pledge of payment. In its VIth Article, it declares: “All debts and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.” These debts, this “engagement,” Madison would have repudiated. Yet you all know that Madison was a signer of this Constitution and a most useful advocate of it. Of these gross, glaring inconsistencies, what is the solution? The Assembly of Virginia, unwilling to pay her share of these debts, denounced the assumption of them “as repugnant to the Constitution of the United States;” “as a measure particularly injurious to the interests of Virginia; as an act impolitic, unjust, odious, and deformed.” Madison presented this denunciation to Congress, obeying the behest of Virginia.

Widely different was the view of a most distinguished officer of the Revolution, a native of Massachusetts, who had fought the battles of the South. “We shall soon,” General Lincoln wrote to Hamilton, “whenever this” (denunciation) “comes in practice, be without a Federal government; and with its fall, we shall probably be deprived for ages to come, of the power of again assembling and forming a system for the General Government of the United States, *by the voice of the people*.” “This,” Hamilton also wrote, “this is the first symptom of a spirit which must either be killed or will kill the Constitution of the United States.” Its principles, he declared, must be “*exploded*.” To provide for these debts, internal duties upon some mere idle indulgences and luxuries had been recommended by Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury. Among these was a duty upon snuff. The snuff-makers were in commotion. They proclaimed this duty to be a

grievance, and there were those who sympathized with them. Snuff, we all know, is a manufacture of tobacco. Tobacco was then the "staple" of Virginia.

From whom, if not from Virginia, emanated doctrines of strict construction emasculative of the Constitution? Whence came the denial to the General Government of the power to establish a uniform currency, with the aid of a National Bank; and what the motive of that denial, but to secure to Virginia the retention within her borders of the seat of government, which she feared the establishment of a National Bank in Philadelphia would put in jeopardy? Commerce and its instruments, money and banks, were things which Virginia politicians—Jefferson, Madison, and Randolph—thought of little moment to Virginia; but the monopoly of political power was in their minds of every moment, and by this consideration was their policy governed.

Yet as to the seat of that Capital—Ames predicted truly, that it would, from its position, easily fall into the hands of a foreign enemy, and a true narrative of this rebellion will tell, that twice it was near falling into the hands of rebel bodies of Virginians. Reflecting men had urged that the Capital should be at Trenton, a position easily defended by its adjacent population.

By whom if not by Virginia, were raised the objections to the means to protect the fisheries on the American coast, from which France insisted upon "excluding" the American States lest they should become a nursery of seamen? In this policy France was foiled, and Virginia took it up, Madison denying to the National Government the power of granting a small bounty for the encouragement of those Fisheries.

For the encouragement of these great Fisheries, this great wealth, which the beneficent Creator annually directs with his unseen hand upon our rocky coast, as though he would make the Ocean return to the land a tribute for the flowing land streams filling her bosom—for the encouragement of the Fisheries, which had invited the Puritan race far over the stormy seas from the low marshes of Holland—for the encouragement of the Fisheries, Massachusetts had asked a bounty to equalize with the foreign bounties. For this bounty, Fisher Ames—most eloquent, most true, most bravely true to his country, asked in the name of Massachusetts—appealing to and rebuking Virginia, "If the lands of Kentucky are invaded," he exclaimed, "you drive off the invader at the general expence, and so you ought. Why shall we not protect our domain upon the Ocean? Another, and important view is, the Naval protection, of which it will be the source. Our trade is increasing rapidly: the richer that trade, the better the prize to the enemy. Can the planter, who takes up arms to protect his harvests on shore, be so much deceived as to wish to have it unprotected, when afloat? Thrown out of employment by war, the fishermen are instantly in action. Their mode of life makes them expert and hardy. They cast anchor on the banks, three hundred leagues from land, and with a great length of cable ride out the storms of winter.

If the gale proves too strong, they often sink at their anchors. For ever wet, the sea almost becomes their element—cold and labor, in that season of frost, brace their bodies; and they become as hardy as the bears that walk around them on the floating fields of ice. Their skill and spirit are not inferior. Familiar with danger, they despise it. If I were to review their exploits,” added Ames, “the theme would find every American heart already glowing with the recollections of them; it would kindle more enthusiasm than the subject requires. My view only is, to appeal to facts, to evince the importance of the fisheries, as a means of Naval protection. It is proper to pass over Bunker’s Hill, though memorable by the valor of a regiment of fishermen; nor, is it necessary, to mention further, that five hundred fishermen fought at Trenton. Manning our privateers, they supplied us with merchandise and military stores, without which, the war could not have been continued.”

Jefferson made a report on the fisheries—As a means of protection was stated—the remission of duties, but as to this he gave no opinion. The protection he did propose was, “the making fish a part of the military ration—a part of the sea stores of vessels—and the more general use of fish in furnishing the supplies of the table.” But to this he added a proposition threatening our infant strength—the driving our fishermen from the ocean. France, it has been seen, opposed the securing to the United States the right to fish. France, by her policy, was seeking to build up her Fishing interest. Against her, nevertheless, nothing was advised—but against Great Britain with her predominating naval force—“counter regulations” of commerce—leading on to war.

The expenses incurred in supporting the Western army, employed in defending the frontiers of Virginia, demanded an augmentation of the national revenue. By the duties imposed, it was sought, in their incidental effects, to furnish a protection of and to encourage a development of the industry of this country, cherishing its infant and introducing new manufactures. This protection, and this encouragement, it was Hamilton’s office to propose. He did propose it, supporting it by a great body of various argument.—Virginia did not dare to oppose this protection as a practical fact. Such opposition would have been unpopular, and in favor of it she had been committed. Jefferson and Madison were thus committed. What did they do? By a perversion of the great argument, they sought to shew that violations of the Constitution would be sanctioned—violations, which the argument itself directly and positively declared were not contemplated, and the possibility of which, as results from it, wholly, conclusively, utterly, disproved and repelled—and so Washington, though tampered with, regarded it. Manufactures, Virginia was reluctant to protect, though she had shown herself eager to protect the snuff box, while attempting a violation of the Sinking Fund. Dwarfing the Constitution in its birth, and seeking to emasculate it, when born—to bind it with the coiling ligaments of strict constructions—of forced interpretations, this mighty

nation was to be shrunk in all its growth—and kept fast in a tight jacket, the scoff of the world, and the struggling victim of State ambition—of Virginia's State ambition. What were all the great interests of this country to Virginia, of the great mass of whose unfortunate population the *hoe* was the implement—to whom the sun rose and set ever on, from weary day to day, over its dull compelled labor, with no promise of reward—no to-morrow of repose—no future of earthly good—no hope of better things? Commerce—money—banks—fisheries—ships—manufactures, were all regarded by her as extraneous. These were the great elements—the great essentials of the free, loyal States. Through them, the influence of these free white laboring States must grow. That growth ere long must prevail, must preponderate, if unchecked, unshackled. Therefore was the exercise of Governmental power to encourage, to protect them, the subject of Virginia's jealousy—the object of her hate. The great commercial crises of this country—coming and again renewed, as though they were, the necessary concomitants of enterprising industry—the questions of protection or *no* protection—of National banks and State banks—ever recurring in their alternating phases—disturbing, upsetting the great quiet interests of society, under the wanton play of illicit politics—all these tell of this State ambition—of this SLAVE planting policy—blind and mute to all other interests, with fixed vision and loud spoken voice as to its own interest.

An ambition so intense would not hesitate as to its means. To secure the influence of the Post Office to the views of Virginia Jefferson urged, but urged in vain upon Washington the appointment as Post Master General of Thomas Paine. And finding Washington above his arts, he sought in concert with Madison to induce him to refuse a reëlection. This concerted effort also failed, and then was seen an endeavor by repeated calumnies to disgust him with office, that thus disgusted he would resign. Genet now appeared to play his part in the America drama. Instructed by France to make the United States her instrument in the recently declared war against Great Britain, Genet assumed the position of almost a rival power with Washington—violating the neutrality of this country—denying the legitimate authority of the Government, defying its exercise, and appealing to the people to sustain him, in disregard of all his violences and outrages and fulminating menaces. What a scene is this! Washington bearded by a foreign Minister and Jefferson in collusion with him. The honest and honorable gratitude of the American people to France was the feeling played upon and abused by the Virginia leaders. Of them what did Washington then write? “It is not the cause of France, nor I believe of liberty which they regard; for, could they involve this country in war (no matter with whom) and disgrace, they would be among the first and loudest of the clamorers against the expense and impolicy of the measure.”*

* Washington to R. H. Lee.

Jefferson felt that he had lost the confidence of Washington, and he resigned his office. The resignation was accepted.

The partisanship and subservience of Virginia to France, and the domineering arrogance of England, her impressment of our seamen, her violations of our neutrality now brought on a crisis, threatening immediate war. To preserve the peace of this young country was worthy every effort consistent with its honor—and in despite of the machinations of Virginia, a mission to London was instituted. A treaty was concluded, in most respects wise, in some respects faulty. The wisdom was disregarded—the faults exaggerated, and all the passions of the public were brought in play to prevent its ratification. At Richmond, a public meeting pronounced this treaty, “insulting to the dignity, injurious to the interest, dangerous to the security and repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.” Hamilton also appealed to the people—“If you consult your true interest, your motto cannot fail to be—•PEACE and TRADE with ALL NATIONS. Beyond our present engagements, POLITICAL CONNECTION with NONE’”—and for this appeal he was stoned! Nor did Washington escape denunciation. He ratified this treaty.

Hear the language used of him by Chancellor Livingston—who administered to him in this city, his Inaugural oath—“He has ratified the fatal instrument, alike hostile to our liberties, and the good faith we owed to France and to our own Constitution, which confines to Congress many of those powers which are *bartered away* by the Executive.” If this charge were true, Washington was a hideous criminal. If not true, what was the accuser? To the purity of Washington mankind have raised a monument, so high that the light ever plays upon its top—while the lofty pile casts an ever deepening shadow upon his traducers. Among these Jefferson was not silent, nor were others, for ere long Washington was charged with *peculation* in respect to his salary—a charge forthwith met by Hamilton and utterly confuted.

The ambition of Virginia had been thwarted thus far in her opposition to Washington, but it was not throttled. This treaty being ratified was by the terms of the Constitution, “*the supreme law of the land.*” France drew an outline of the mode of defeating its operation. Jefferson sanctioned this outline. Madison attempted to make it prevail. The treaty had been ratified by the President and the Senate in the mode prescribed by the Constitution. Madison resorted to a sophism, the effect of which would have been to render the House of Representatives paramount to the other Departments of the Government—in contradiction of his own previously, and deliberately avowed construction of it. The peace of the country was at stake—but of much higher moment, its honor and its good faith were at stake. In vindication of these Washington and Hamilton united and prevailed. Of the attempt of Madison, Washington remarked, “it was striking, at once and that boldly too, at the fundamental principles of the Constitution.” Jefferson fretted and scoffed—“I see no harm,” he

wrote, "in rendering their sanction" (that of the House) "*necessary*, and not much harm in *annihilating* the whole treaty-making power, except as to making peace." Of Washington's ratification, he wrote, "I wish that his honesty and his political errors may not furnish a *second* occasion to exclaim—'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.' " Yet, at a future day, as to an act the most beneficial of his whole life—the purchase of Louisiana by treaty, he avowed—"The Executive, in seizing this, a fugitive occurrence, which so much advances the good of the country, has done an act *beyond* the *Constitution*." Thus have we here before us as to the great plenary treaty power of this country, which fully warranted this purchase; two great comprehensive facts in the leading action of Virginia—an attempt to *defeat* the Constitution by an *usurpation* of the House of Representatives, in respect to a treaty, beneficial to the commercial interests of this country—provisional as to the debts due to its citizens for depredations on their commerce, and securing peace, all of which the Virginia leaders would have prevented; and an avowed *usurpation* of the Constitution in the exercise of this treaty power, by the leader of Virginia.

How are these facts explained? The commerce of this country, the debts due for the violations of this commerce—these were the interests of the great body of the people—of its laboring white population—to Virginia of little moment;—but the acquisition of Louisiana, Virginia saw was the guarantee, for ever as she supposed, of her political power—the field of her especial labor—and a market for her slaves, cotton and sugar to be raised in a torrid clime by the toil of slaves in countless increasing numbers—giving to the Slave States an increasing representation. It would be a lame omission not to mention, that "the restitutions and other debts to American citizens," it was proposed by Madison to barter to France for the purchase of Louisiana. They *were bartered*, and by the United States never have been paid. In this payment Virginia had no interest.

The culminating act of her ambition we now reach. It has been stated that from Virginia emanated the doctrine of SECESSION.

The conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain secured for a time the power of Washington and of his friends—if the Government should continue to exist. The State ambition of Virginia had become restive, reckless. Would it longer submit? Was there no expedient short of rebellion—of open armed rebellion? The contriving brain of Jefferson began to work, and from it sprang the doctrine of State Secession. Of this doctrine he was the author, he the self-acknowledged author. Madison the advocate! It was solely of Virginia birth—Virginia advocacy. It sprang up on the borders of the Potomac near which it is now expiring amid all the agonies—all the writhing tortures of a monster's death, this Hydra—a hissing Serpent with its many heads, "waved over by the flaming brand" of the American HERCULES—

the power of the loyal American people—at the gate of Richmond “with dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.”

What is this doctrine of SECESSION founded upon—if not upon the theory of a *compact* between the States, each having an independent sovereignty, when, as to the great primary purposes for which the General Government exists, the States *never* had—have not now any sovereignty? Independent only in Union—Sovereign only in Union, the great primary attributes of sovereignty always have been, now are, the exclusive property of that Union—the joint indefeasible estate of the whole united people of the United States;—a Sovereignty never to be given up. The doctrine of Secession is a doctrine that the majority of the people of the United States shall not govern. It is the doctrine of a sovereign minority. The practical assertion of this doctrine is Rebellion.

And as has been said in the bosom of Virginia to subserve the ambition of Virginia was concerted a design to subvert the Constitution. I quote the words of Washington in a letter to La Fayette of the 24th of December 1798. “The sum amounts to this,—that a party exists in the United States, formed by a combination of causes, which oppose the Government in *all* its measures, and are determined, as their conduct evinces, by clogging its wheels, *indirectly to change the nature of it*; and to SUBVERT THE CONSTITUTION.” Listen—weigh these words, and then tell me, whether it was not a righteous indignation that prompted the patient, the forbearing, “the modest, the sage” Washington to declare of “that party, they have been the CURSE OF THE COUNTRY.”

Southern politicians could, perhaps, well afford to admit this doctrine into their newly fabricated constitution, with Slavery as its basis, and the interests of Slavery for it an enduring, tightening ligature. Well could they afford it as a lure and a pretext to other States to join them—among whom a supposed diversity of interests might prompt to a severance from their fellows—the great expectation of the Slave States thirsting ambition.

The party of SECESSION must be the *weaker* party in a great community—it must be a party of the minority, for the majority control, they never *secede*. The party of Secession must be the *unlawful* party, for else it would not secede from the majority, who, in free communities of Government, have a right to impose the law. I am speaking of a Government, not of a mere league—this Union is not a league, but a Constitution ordained and established by the people of the United States—as a substitute for a preceding league. Of this weaker, this unlawful party, in action, the natural, the inevitable recourse is to Conspiracy. It must gain its strength by conspiring with others—*out* of the national domain—*within* the national domain. And what are the facts? This party of Virginia did conspire with France, and did conspire within the loyal States. Washington took the command of an army raised to repel an invasion by France in the interest of

this party of Secession—and volunteers were called forth to suppress the first movement of an organized conspiracy—a conspiracy organized here—in this city of New-York, and ramified throughout the country. Its history is short—Napper Tandy, an Irish Insurgent, arrives in New-York from Paris, and immediately “The American Society of United Irishmen”—that was its name—was founded. It proposed to embody all the Irish in the United States, then estimated at about 50,000 men, provided they “were such, and such only, as *had suffered* in the cause of freedom, or who by their zeal for the rights of mankind had rendered themselves *distinguished* and *worthy of trust*.” Irish Insurgents or ready to proceed to Insurrection! The constitution of this combination declared, “that the *test* of this Society, the intention of its institution, other than as a social body attached to Freedom, should be *secret* and *inviolable*.” This test-oath, beside the emancipation of Ireland, pledged the efforts of the associates for the attainment of liberty and equality to mankind *in whatever nation they resided*, and that they never would divulge any of its *secrets*. The admission of members was guarded, further to indicate the nature of the association; and an enlarged organization was formed so as to extend its ramifications to the most remote recesses of the Union. Under a GENERAL Executive Committee were STATE Committees. These controlled the *Sections*, to which were subordinate Sub-*Sections*, “consisting only of eight men each, all living *near* one another, one of whom was to *warn them in cases of urgency*.” That it was formed for *other* purposes than the emancipation of Ireland is shown by its constitution—that it contemplated measures *within* the United States is proved by the words of its preamble, which declared, at a time ominous to this country—“There is not now time to argue and complain. *This is the time to ACT*. To act with energy we must act with union. Irishmen are united at home—we will not be disunited abroad.” Of such a combination—contemplating purposes it dared not avow—bound by a *secret and inviolable test-oath*—organized with military gradation—pledged to act “with *energy and union*—to act upon *instant warning*” was not Hamilton warranted in regarding it as involving the danger to the country of “an internal invasion”? The measures of the Government for its suppression alarmed its fomentors. Jefferson trembled at the imagined danger of a criminal prosecution, and his confidential friends—emissaries of France—Volney and Collet fled beyond the sea. The pulse of the American people now beat high. With the parting apathy Energy took the reins, and a second Insurrection in Pennsylvania was suppressed. But Washington had been succeeded by, from his jealous passions—a semi-maniac; and amid his follies and his ravings, the heart of this nation sank. The syren song of PEACE was raised—and yielding to its solicitations, the author of the doctrine of Secession was beheld—seated in the chair Washington had filled. Washington did not live to see this change—indeed had he lived, he would have prevented it—and well did his enemies understand this.

—Hear the language of a parasite of Jefferson—"I am glad he is dead. We could not pull him down." An important inquiry presents itself, by what means were the friends of Washington ejected from power. Hamilton has furnished the public answer—"It is certain, had the late election been decided entirely by *native* citizens, had foreign auxiliaries been rejected on both sides, the man who ostentatiously vaunts, that *the doors of public honor and confidence have been burst open to him*, would not now have been at the head of the American Nation." "Who wields the sceptre of France, and has erected a despotism on the ruins of her former government? A foreigner! Who rules the councils of our own *ill-fated*, unhappy country? And who stimulates persecution on the heads of its citizens for daring to exercise the right of suffrage? A FOREIGNER!" That foreigner was a Swiss.

It is not my purpose to trace further on the history of this country through its sad near after story. How its COMMERCE was *sacrificed* by Virginia at the behest of a *foreign* Despot many live to recollect—their impoverished families to lament! How its CURRENCY became *worthless*, and its PUBLIC CREDIT became bankrupt, the ruined fortunes of many still living tell! What degradations this nation suffered from France—What insults and depredations were inflicted upon it by England, the indignant memories of many still living have not forgotten! War followed—wholly unprepared war. Of a great fraud practiced upon the counsels of this nation by a Virginian President to precipitate that war I have not time to relate. Peace was made—and after a time—SECESSION long sleeping awoke from her trance—NULLIFICATION followed. An American Machiavelli came forth from South-Carolina in the person of Calhoun—armed with problems and teaching metaphysics, though quaking while he taught—and from Tennessee came forth a Soldier of dauntless will and iron purpose—the Patriot Soldier—Andrew Jackson—armed with the armor of this nation, and before his frown Secession fainted. But it did not die. Imbecility—Imbecility in the midst of traitor counsels—warmed it into life, and it is before our eyes in the bloody form of a Great Conspiracy—a Great Rebellion—a Great Civil War. Is not Slavery the source—the life—the ambitious care and purpose of this war? If not, what is its purpose? The answer is—The arrogant Independence of a few to secure and perpetuate the dependence of the many—of millions of slaves—a war sustained by poor, untaught—misled whites, regarded as a cheap sacrifice to the aspirations of those arrogant few. I have used the word—arrogant—might not a stronger word be used, when I tell you, that in reply to a mild remark as to "the unfortunate institution of Slavery," Barnwell Rhett, a chief instigator in South-Carolina of this rebellion answered me, "I do not consider it unfortunate. I would establish Slavery, if it did not exist."

And now before I close I will make one observation. I do not mean to be understood as passing an indiscriminate censure upon the dead. In long careers of public service it would be strange,

were there no reliefs in the dark picture of a vitiated, selfish ambition. Nor even, in the heated discussions of an election, and of such an election as this, is it "meet that every nice offence should bear its comment." To elevate, not to lower the tone of public feeling, is the duty which so great a cause inspires, so great a cause demands. Nor, while I have recalled to you these facts of certain men of the Secession school—of Virginia—can we forget what Virginia has given to this country in Washington—the object of their persecuting hatred—in Marshall—the subject of their biting calumnies—in Winfield Scott—called "a traitor to Virginia," because he would not be a traitor to his country. The public deeds of public men are the property of the public—and whether good or evil, are living lessons to those who come after them; and it is to a few of these lessons I would now, by your indulgence, ask your attention—the honor of your attention—for with what delight have I remarked the rapid advance of the recent vast audiences up to the height of this great crisis in their patient hearing and quickest perception of the truths and arguments presented to them.

Are there no analogies in what I have related to what is recent and now before us—and are those analogies without instruction? How is it, that the public force of this great nation has been below its great necessities? Is it not owing to the clamors of former days alarming the counsels of our days? How is it, that our finances are so much disturbed? Is it not that the sound experience of former days has not governed in the policy of our days? How is it, that the counsels of the Administration have not commanded in the public mind all the respect always necessary to a successful administration? Is it not that personal rivalries have left the President without the power of beneficial united consultation? On the other hand—what have been the impediments interposed to the policy of the President and to his measures by the opposition? Have they not sought by advice—by misrepresentation—by invidious and cruel arts sought to defeat the levy of our soldiers—cruelly inciting the abused, deceived foreign population to riot—and plunder and murder? Have they not by every artifice that could be resorted to endeavored to destroy all confidence in the financial ability of this nation—holding up specie as the only currency, and at the same time, by depressing the value of the currency rendering unavoidable the increase of its volume? Have they not, by insisting on the exclusive rights of State banks, deformed the system of national banking, alarming the timid and making pause the prudent? Have they not organized throughout the country an extensive conspiracy to control the legitimate authority of the nation—giving aid and comfort to the enemy—armed to coërcé the loyal people and banded together by illicit oaths to use every means to insure success to the Rebellion? Have they not, in concert with these rebels, presented to this nation a platform—which if carried into effect—must inevitably "subvert the Constitution"? Are they not at this moment by the

false cry of Peace, Peace, seeking to bring on emergencies—that would make this fair country—unfit to live in—almost a solitude? Is there a person here who doubts, were this election cast against our President, that this Union would be dissolved? If there be such a man, I can only say—God help him to a sounder judgment.

How is it that this nation has been, as it were, so long heaving and tossing throughout all this storm? Foreign influence has done its part, as of yore. The two great powers combined, each pursuing its separate path of hostility—England by a covert war—France by those arts which make religious power—the instrument of political power—France establishes a throne in Mexico under the rule of an Austrian prince—of a most bigoted race—aided—chiefly aided, by the wealthy Mexican Church. To give to that Church assured permanence, and thus to maintain the ascendancy of France, what more probable than that this Church, dreading of all things the Protestant power of the United States, would exert all its irresistible influence over the Roman Catholic population of the United States? How otherwise explain the recent united vote, in opposition to the Administration, of the Catholic Irish in Pennsylvania, than by the indefatigable efforts of the Priests, presumed to be directed by the Society at Rome of the “*Propaganda*”? Domestic treason, seeking foreign influence, has unnerved us—party bigotry, party ambition, party avarice, all coveting and all uniting to recover its long-enjoyed, long-abused power, believing or affecting to believe every imputation wantonly hurled against the Government. At the very head of that party a FOREIGNER, first and recently known here as an official servant of Austria—then, without any public service to “our country,” promoted to a foreign mission, doubtless the reward of known party activity and probably of large party aid—that Foreigner now foremost in its ranks—opening the doors of the Chicago Convention, and declaring as to men, pouring out their treasures and their blood to maintain their existence as a nation—“Four years of misrule by a sectional, fanatical and corrupt party have brought our country on the very verge of ruin.” Words—words—words like these, of insult and bravado, towards men whose fathers fought the battles of the Revolution—whose children have returned in sickness and with wounds from the present battle-fields of patriotism—may excite surprize from such a source; but what are they when compared, in accents familiar to all our ears, by a *Native* of this country—the fallacious sophist—and party servant—the Governor of this great, patriotic State? And, meanwhile, that Convention, dictated to by Rebel emissaries near by at St. Catherines, and at Clifton in Canada, some of whose confidential papers are in the possession of our government—and besieged at its very doors, day and night, by armed conspirators pervading the Great West, and known as “The Order of American Knights”—or “Sons of Liberty”—plotting against the Government.

Of this great treasonable conspiracy, shewing “its origin, history, and names, its organization and officers, its extent and numbers, its

armed force, its ritual, oaths and interior forms, its written principles, its specific purposes and operations—the witnesses and their testimony”—a recent Official Report contains the fearful story—but of that story leaves much untold. Of its specific purposes these are enumerated—“aiding soldiers to desert and harboring and protecting deserters—discouraging enlistments and resisting the draft—circulating disloyal and treasonable publications—communicating with and giving intelligence to the enemy—aiding them and assisting them to recruit within the loyal lines—furnishing them with arms and ammunition—destroying government and private property—and persecuting Union men—ASSASSINATION and *murder* coolly, deliberately discussed in councils of its order, and *recommended!*!”

But for these influences, this war would have ceased, for it is on these influences foreign and domestic, the rebels have largely counted. That in the conduct of this great Civil war errors have been committed cannot be denied, but they were errors on the side of the public safety—these errors, though furnishing the opposition with grounds of objection—do not explain the divided mind of the people. To these influences so active and so wicked, this divided mind must be traced. Who does not recollect the universal burst of feeling at the attack upon Fort Sumter? Has the cause changed? Is it not larger—more comprehensive—clearer to a clear public vision—more *intense*? If patriotism—duty—prudence—wisdom—all demand the complete reduction of this great—this devilish rebellion—Humanity now puts forth her claims for such reduction. Without arms, accustomed to a brutal rule, the Slaves hitherto have remained passive. Superior force triumphing over the rebels, of that force the slaves a part, feel their power and the value of their freedom. The unfreed are quiet in the near hope of liberation through the might of arms. Let the election go adverse to the Government—and those arms cease to be used, will the freedmen be reduced to bondage or the slaves submit to longer bondage? He who believes this, mistakes human nature. Despairing of lawful help, they would not hesitate to resort to a general insurrection—a shocking general massacre. Humanity thus demands in loudest accents the total suppression of this rebellion by force of lawful arms, and so it will be suppressed. From the beginning of this great struggle I felt assured, with only one serious question in my mind—What of the great West? For I had learned of great boons before the West in negotiation with the South. That question was not long unanswered. When at the first Public meeting in this city after Sumter was taken, I felt it answered. In the vast concourse—miles of surrounding patriotism, 'twas evident that the population of the Northern Seaboard was true, that the Treasury would be furnished. The scene was full of promise; for as, with the arm of Colonel Anderson on mine, we passed through the mighty crowd, and on up the platform, appeared a vast field of glory. Loud, loud deafening cheers were heard swaying through the air, only silenced for the opening prayer

of as true a patriot as ever spoke great gospel truths—by this modest, devout soldier—the type of his wronged insulted country in the presence of the Statue of the FATHER OF THIS COUNTRY. Remembering the past, this Statue, though silent speaking—was ever before my eyes. The aged steed, with uplifted foot, seemed ready for the start—proud of his burthen—and there sat Washington, with rein in hand, mindless of his steed—serene and calm—his uncovered head beamed on from the sky—and when I asked, ‘What of the Great West?’ the statue seemed to answer—for there were beheld his outlook—far—far away—his extended arm with open hand pointing to the Great West—‘That West once our danger—now our safety.’ It was a vision and a promise. How fulfilled—Morton and Brough—Grant and Sherman and Sheridan with their conquering armies tell.

And the day of greatest danger will soon be past. The Eighth of November next is the great political advent, whence we shall date a new era to our country—to free government—to the welfare of the human race. Time with its mighty arm has long been winnowing the sins and errors of the world. The armed turrets which in Europe lined the borders of its great water courses are long since empty—the brandings and the burnings for Heresy are gone. The Inquisition is gone—the Bastile is gone—the shackles of the Press are gone—the Pulpit is almost free. These are the things of the old world—and here in this New World, nearer to the rising sun, the great lights of religious and social truths are pouring in their flood, telling us of the near emancipation of the slave, and telling us also of the great cares and duties, which a larger freedom imposes on a people such as we are. True it is, that great burthens have been incurred, but a wise policy can make them light. True it is, that many lives have been lost, and that among our own much loved—wounds and sicknesses tell of the sufferings and the dangers undergone for our country. But are we not richer—are we not sounder for these wounds, healthier even for these sicknesses? We have armies—of all the armies of the earth—the bravest and the best. We have Generals to lead them *now*—of no doubtful fame—but, who can point to fruitful victories, which, nor Macedon—nor Rome—nor Modern Europe can boast. We have a Navy whose maintops are of almost romantic interest. Full of glory—full of honor—full of every honest pride, we are a people to value the great achievements that have been performed, not only to value, but to reward them in every form reward can be best bestowed. We have a country—ere long—again under one rule—and that, the rule of a united People.

And are we not a wiser people? In almost four years of war and civil strife, have we not lived centuries? And do not the truths our fathers told fall now—now at last—on welcome, willing ears—welcome, willing hearts? What are some of these truths? An armed Rebellion must be subdued by arms, and the peaceful authority of the Government of this great Nation must be reestablished over every foot of the National Territory. Slavery

must be for ever abolished, not only by the armed power of this nation, but by the civil power of this nation—declared, made part of its Constitution ; not by “ an ultimate Convention,” to put all at hazard, but by well-digested recommendations of Congress to be submitted to the people of each State for their approval. The structure of the Government should be thereby so modified as to secure—independent of State lines or State influences—to the people the free voice of one people in the choice of those they mean to administer the great TRUST of governing. Limitations of the powers of the Constitution, injurious to the interests and inconsistent with the equal rights of all the people, should be erased from the Constitution—and Provisions should be made to secure more perfectly those powers and rights of the Government and of the citizens, necessary “ to form a more perfect Union and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

These things performed, let us heal the wounds of this great Civil War — rewarding the faithful soldier with the property of the faithless traitor—thus protecting the Capital of this great nation from foreign or domestic insult, and proclaiming to the world by mighty acts that a people can be free and can maintain their freedom.

